THE AMERICAN WAY OF GIVING

A few years ago some officers of the Ford Foundation were discussing various ways Ford's millions could generate social reform. As the brainstormers saw it, the existing power structure of business, labor and government was too firmly entrenched to make really significant changes. Finally one officer offered a simple suggestion: "Let's just buy Rhode Island" and make a fresh start.

Though Rhode Island wasn't for sale, the Ford Foundation, which this year will spend at least $250 million around the world, would have had little trouble paying operating costs for the state. Gov. John H. Chafee plans to get by on $188 million in 1966. And the notion of such ambition by U.S. foundations is not as farfetched as it may sound. Each year Ford and the nation's 15,000 other foundations dispense some $1.1 billion through a system of organized private giving for public purposes so potent that some social historians have called it the Fifth Estate. Indeed, the dollars they have poured out have exerted a strong influence in shaping the quality of twentieth-century life.

Foundation money helped eradicate hookworm, yellow fever and malaria in many areas of the world (the Rockefeller Foundation); built 2,509 libraries in the U.S. and other English-speaking countries (Carnegie Corp.); supported Robert H. Goddard's rocket research when the military could not see a need for it (Smithsonian Institution and the Daniel and Florence Guggenheim Foundation); modernized Mexican agriculture (Rockefeller) and sustained U.S. educational television (Ford); developed the new math for U.S. schools (Carnegie), brought new contraceptive techniques to villages in India (Ford and Rockefeller) and supported almost 7,000 artists and scholars (John Simon Guggenheim). Even such everyday items as Pyrex glass and the outer white lines on highways are the result of efforts by the Carnegie Institution of Washington and the Dorr Foundation.

Warpath: Despite these successes, foundations have often had to fight to protect their sovereign status. Congressional committees, which once suspected that foundations were nothing more than shrewd schemes for holding on to great fortunes, later worried that they were serving international Communism. Today certain foundations are under attack from liberals who decry the right-wing pamphleteering that masks itself as educational activity. Some critics claim that large foundations are a benevolent-aid society for the Eastern Establishment: Dean Rusk went from the State Department to Rockefeller to State, John W. Gardner from Carnegie to HEW and last week McGeorge Bundy went from the White House to Ford. And the occasional abuses of the tax-exempt status of foundations for private gain has Wright Patman of Texas on the warpath again.

"We still suffer from the old John D. Rockefeller kerosene trust," the 72-year-old congressman said last week. "Foundations are perpetuating themselves in office. It's like feudal Europe." He proposes limiting the lives of foundations to 25 years, a remedy already rejected by the Treasury Department. But in a 1965 report on foundation tax exemption, the department recommended tighter restrictions on foundation finances, including a law barring them from owning more than 20 per cent of a business.

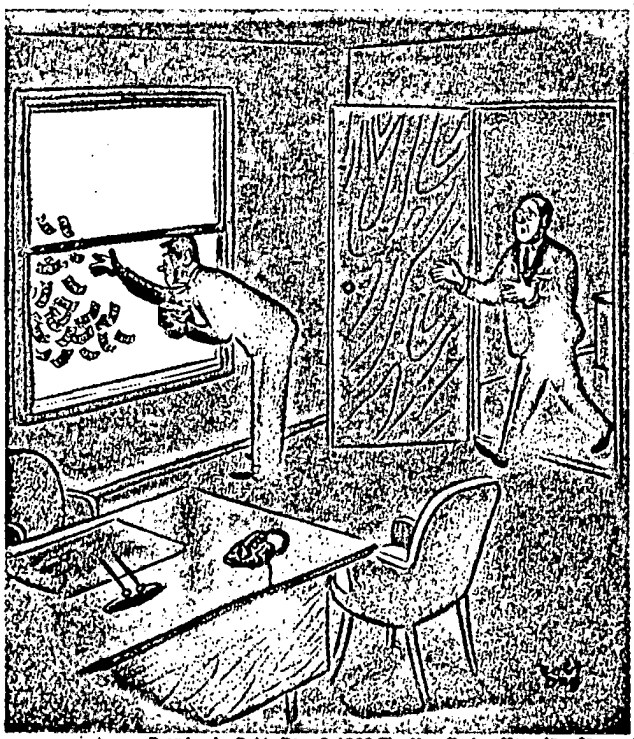
Slow Beat: Significantly, philanthropoids themselves are re-examining the foundations. "Philanthropy generally is not attuned to the tempo of the times," John D. Rockefeller III said recently. "We are prone to be too complacent." One reason for the discontent is the fact that foundations no longer enjoy a benevolent monopoly.

The Ford Foundation was once described as "a large body of money surrounded by a lot of people who want some." Foundations in the Great Society are large bodies of money surrounded by even more money—that of the Federal government. In nearly all the traditional foundation fields—education, health, international aid and research—the government is now spending more than the private foundations. And, significantly, much of the money is going for research and development of new ideas.

Turnabout: The government's National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities promises to be one particularly adventurous agency and may even reverse traditional roles. Arts council chairman, Roger Stevens, has authority to finance pilot projects and then ask private foundations to put up matching funds or take over the projects. While foundations claim that they are the venture capital in a pluralistic economy, examples like this have prompted critics to say that government has captured the lead in innovation as well. Foundations, in short, are being forced to search for new purposes for their billions.

One critic on record that the Federal government often makes better grants than private foundations is the Ford's new president, 46-year-old McGeorge Bundy, who once sought grants when he was a Harvard dean. "Bundy arrives," says a top Ford officer, "when a congruence of forces both within and outside the foundation make it a critical time to have a younger man in charge of the foundation's fortune."

"When McGeorge Bundy was announced," cracked one staffer, "a lot of people ran to the windows to jump." But so far Bundy, who can be ruthlessly efficient when he must, has been rather genial. At a meeting with the foundation's officers on his first day in office last week he managed, says one impressed staffer, "to give everybody the idea we were going places. I've seen people take over organizations before, but never with a tour de force like this." Then Bundy made a tour of the cramped Ford offices on New York's Madison Avenue (the foundation will move to new twelve-story headquarters near the United Nations Building next March), introducing him-



Drawing by Robt. Day; © 1962 The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.

'Just a minute, young man. That's not quite the way we do things here at the Ford Foundation'

Newsweek—Phil MacMullan

Ford's Bundy: 'Applied intelligence'

self to everyone including secretaries.

Nevertheless, some of the jumpiness among the 147-man professional staff is justified. Bundy probably will trim Ford's administrative pyramid to achieve greater flexibility. One prospective appointment: the State Department's David Bell may come in July to be international vice president.

Lollipops: Foundations can be called trusts, funds, societies or endowments, and they can support anything the IRS will allow as charitable, social, religious or educational. The purpose can be as lofty as Rockefeller's ("to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world") or as circumscribed as that of The Lollipop Foundation of America which distributes 300,000 all-day suckers each year to hospitalized children. The Benefit Shoe Foundation offers persons with one foot single shoes, the Mount Everest Foundation will assist U.S. mountain climbers, two foundations stand ready to help preserve the prairie chicken and the Headache Research Foundation has an obvious mission. And "until the end of the world," schoolchildren in Scotch Plains and Fanwood, N.J., are promised a scoop of ice cream a year by the Dr. Coles Trust Fund.

The most influential contributions, however, have not been made by such scattered hands. By near unanimous opinion three foundations stand out above all. "It would be awfully hard to find any money in the U.S.," claims University of California president Clark Kerr, "as well spent as that spent by Ford, Carnegie and Rockefeller."

Andrew Carnegie preached a gospel of wealth to his fellow millionaires which held that their "surplus wealth" should be treated as a "public trust." Before income tax was a problem, the immigrant Scot argued that wealthy people had an obligation to help those who had the talent and will to follow.

For his part, John D. Rockefeller felt a religious obligation to give, but he, Carnegie and other industrial captains soon found their wealth outstripped their capacity to disperse it. Concerned that their philanthropy be capricious, they seized on the foundation as a way to spend money as efficiently as their corporations made it. Carnegie, after establishing numerous specialized funds, founded the first general-research foundation, the Carnegie Corporation, with $25 million in 1911. The Rockefeller Foundation was incorporated in 1913 with $35 million, later received $148 million more from its founder.

Exodus: Ford, the third member of the Big Three in foundations, was a product of post-World War II taxes. "The man who dies rich," Carnegie had argued, "dies disgraced." The IRS also made sure the rich couldn't leave very much anyway, causing a mass exodus of wealth into foundation havens. For Henry and Edsel Ford, the foundation device offered a convenient way "to advance human welfare" and at the same time keep the Ford company in the family—it would have had to sell most of the stock to pay estate taxes when they died. The foundation inherited 88 per cent of the Fords' stock (non-voting), creating what may remain the world's largest foundation.

The major foundations, and the best of the smaller funds, still "advance human welfare," but selectively. Foundations account for only 8 per cent of private giving, but their influence has come from their ability to use money to get at the causes of problems and encourage more money to follow. "Big foundations like Ford, Rockefeller and Carnegie," says John W. Gardner, Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare on leave from the presidency of Carnegie Corporation, "have an extraordinary opportunity to look beyond crises of the day, dig deeper and arrive at independent judgments they can make available to the people."

If the ends of philanthropy remain basically the same, the means have changed considerably from the days when a John D. Rockefeller could hear about the evils of hookworm and decide to eradicate it. Now, the money is dispensed by philanthropoids (a term coined by former Carnegie Corporation president Frederick P. Keppel). In major foundations, these men are polished specialists operating under defined programs. Typically, the philanthropoid is an ex-academic or government bureaucrat who travels widely looking for new ideas and talent.

Newsweek—Robert R. McElroy

Carnegie's Pifer: Small and bright

Newsweek—Phil MacMullan

Rockefeller's Harrar: Broad mission

Money Men: "The philanthropoid is not particularly imaginative," says one former foundation man who has returned to teaching. "He might have become a dean or vice provost—he's happier in administration." But many are extraordinarily able men drawn by the foundations' power to effect change, and Harvard's David Riesman claims that "some of the most reflective men I know are in foundations."

A problem for philanthropoids is the awe and obeisance of some of the people they deal with. James W. Armsey, who administers Ford's lucrative ($277 million thus far) matching-grant program for colleges, ruefully notes that "every phrase I write is scrutinized and dissected for meaning." So strong is Armsey's word that one college president admits "there are a lot of us who would run down Fifth Avenue naked if Jim Armsey said it would help get one of his grants." Peter Caws, a former officer at Carnegie, observed that "wherever you go you are welcome, every suggestion you make is regarded as a special kind of illumination from above. When I went to Carnegie, a friend told me, 'You'll never have another honest conversation again in your life'."

Bishoprics: Hovering around the major foundations are a variety of specialists, usually in the academic world, who consult or informally advise the philanthropoid. "Each foundation has its

bishopric," explains one of Ford's academic bishops. "If you look at the professors on the senior level of any university you can distinguish to what bishopric each belongs." Serving the foundations this way can be lucrative in more ways than prestige and access to grant money. Foundation executives, says Carnegie acting president Alan Pifer, frequently make recommendations for college presidents and deans, and they tend to nominate those they know.

Each foundation has a distinct style. Although it is one of the youngest large foundations, Ford is already one of the most highly bureaucratized. Graced with a larger endowment than ever before imagined in philanthropy, Ford has struggled to find a sensible way to manage its fortune. But while critics fault Ford for being "bureaucratized," Ford has managed to move effectively. Last year, for example, it allocated $85 million for orchestras, and it has created "satellite" organizations such as Educational Facilities Laboratories, which tests ideas in school construction.

In the early years when Paul Hoffman and Robert M. Hutchins ran the foundation, Ford was a whirling picture of innovation, liberalism and occasionally zany grants. "Every now and then the newspapers would pick up some wild grant," recalls a staffer at the time, "and Henry [Ford II] would come in and roar 'Jesus Christ, why can't we be a nice foundation like Rockefeller?' "

Eventually the trustees found a man more to their tastes, Henry T. Heald, who, with a background in engineering, had proven himself an able administrator at Illinois Institute of Technology and New York University. Under Heald, Ford gained coherency, pioneered in the U.S. and abroad in poverty, education and birth control, but, say some, failed to use all its resources imaginatively.

The Way Up: Ford grants usually carry a long internal history (page 90). Every grant must work its way through a "discussion paper" prepared for the staff officers in a particular program, such as education. The next step takes it to all the officers and, finally, through the president to the trustees. Trustee approval of programs or projects is far from automatic. The trustees are bankers like Eugene R. Black, publishers like John Cowles and academic administrators like new chairman Julius A. Stratton. "Given this world," says one Ford staffer, "they are liberal men among conservatives." "In presenting proposals," he adds, "we don't make a grant seem like a breaking-down-the-barricades proposition."

To skeptics, the system hasn't worked very well. "It's a contradiction in terms," scoffs Hutchins, "to say a mammoth organization is going to be adventurous. Picture the Ford board at a meeting—it's almost a drain on the intelligence just to imagine all those weighty responsibilities they have taken on in so many places." And to insiders, the foundation has not always been a happy place in recent years. Even some admirers of Heald felt his stewardship had grown heavy-handed. Heald, who maintained that a foundation should be a "cutting edge," indirectly answered charges that the foundation hadn't been cutting enough by noting in his last annual report that "a vast amount of social change consists of skillful, painstaking introduction and perfection of ideas already articulated—processes that do not attract brilliant spotlights." And despite the fact that the foundation has sold a large part of its Ford stock, Heald says that "people at the Ford Motor Co. were at times just as unhappy as they could be over some of our actions."

Talent Scouts: Before the rise of the Ford superfoundation, the biggest spender was the Rockefeller Foundation. An early supporter of basic research, the foundation has had enviable success in picking talent: about one-third of the winners of Nobel Prizes for science or medicine received, some time before the award, Rockefeller money for their research. Fittingly, the foundation commands a 42-story-high view of New York, but in organization it resembles a graduate school. For a long time the staff was divided into various academic disciplines, and recently the foundation reorganized into inter-disciplinary areas, just as the most up-to-date campuses have. Even the board of trustees has a strong academic orientation—nine of its nineteen members hold positions in colleges or universities.

With at least half of its $33 million annual budget going to overseas projects, Rockefeller has often led the way for U.S. Government foreign aid. A significant example of the foundation's ability to move years before the government was Rockefeller's project in Mexico, which increased corn, wheat and bean production threefold in twenty years. But when Washington is willing, Rockefeller president J. George Harrar says he is eager "to collaborate with the [U.S.] government."

Rockefeller is also willing to join with other foundations. The International Rice Research Institute in the Philippines, which may revolutionize agriculture in the Far East, is staffed by Rockefeller, but the $7.5 million starting cost was paid by Ford.

The Carnegie Corporation, which has an annual budget of $12 million, takes pride in its unbureaucratic ways. It makes a point of congeniality and invention. The doors at its Fifth Avenue offices are open to grant-seekers. "Carnegie," says corporation secretary Florence Anderson, "likes to be a cutting

THE BIG SPENDERS

Foundations with more than $100 million in assets in 1964 (latest year available):

	In millions of dollars
1. FORD Big money for all fields except religion and health	3,871
2. ROCKEFELLER Health, welfare work, much of it abroad	862
3. DUKE Aid to North and South Carolina hospitals, churches, colleges	596
4. KELLOGG Medical training, adult education, agriculture	492
5. MOTT Benefactor of an entire city—Flint, Michigan	418
6. HARTFORD (JOHN A.) Medical research, kidney transplants, lasers	397
7. CARNEGIE CORP. Studies and experiments in education	344
8. SLOAN Stanford, MIT, cancer research, Negro scholarships	298
9. BISHOP (BERNICE P.) Hawaiian education	287
10. PEW Religious, patriotic causes; Pennsylvania charities	264
11. LONGWOOD Du Pont's gardens, hospital and college construction	251
12. MOODY All to Texas — churches, hospitals, colleges	242
13. LILLY Indiana colleges, Christian and patriotic groups	234
14. ROCKEFELLER BROS. Family charities, studies of U.S. policy	210
15. COMMONWEALTH Medical education and fellowships	156
16. DANFORTH Fellowships for graduates, chaplains, professors	146
17. AVALON Performing arts, colleges, medical schools	138
18. WATERMAN Philadelphia youth groups, hospitals, schools	134
19. KETTERING (CHARLES F.) Cancer, photosynthesis research; education	121
20. CARNEGIE INSTITUTION Basic scientific research by staff	113
21. OLD DOMINION Fine arts, mental health, conservation	103
22. FLEISCHMANN (MAX C.) Mostly Nevada charities	103
23. CLEVELAND First and largest of "community" foundations	102

edge for other foundations. We're smaller, so we have to be brighter."

Under the leadership of John Gardner, whose influence far exceeded the grants he approved, Carnegie was among the most imaginative of foundations. Shortly after World War II, Carnegie funded the Russian Research Center at Harvard, setting an example for area-study centers at universities. Other foundations, notably Ford and Rockefeller, have since put their greater resources behind the idea. Carnegie began supporting new mathematics curriculums a year before Sputnik I and paid for James Bryant Conant's influential studies of American schools.

The foundation's flexibility has allowed it to react more quickly to small, individual requests for funds than some of the larger foundations. John Kenneth Galbraith reports he had little trouble

Newsweek—Jeff Lowenthal

Chicago's O'Brien: How to succeed

persuading Carnegie in 1950 to give him a modest grant to allow him time for developing one of the first courses on the economics of developing countries.

Full Harvest: Traditionally, universities and colleges have been a favorite planting ground for foundation money. Rockefeller's General Education Board spent $95 million to help make American medical schools among the best in the world. Carnegie pioneered in establishing music and art as part of the college curriculum. Ford granted $260 million to raise teachers' salaries across the nation and sponsors the National Merit Scholarship Corporation, which gives scholarships to top high-school graduates. It also pioneered in teacher education. Danforth and Wilson fellowships have encouraged some of the best students to continue on in graduate school to become college teachers. And individual foundation programs in various disciplines have prodded universities into new areas of study and, in many ways, prepared the ground for the multiversity built with Federal funds.

But foundation dollars can be a mixed blessing. Foundations, reports Wisconsin historian Merle Curti, have made universities become "places where talented scholars hang their hats while pursuing the answers to problems of advanced research." These "executive professors" with foundation connections can fly around the world on consulting or research missions almost at will. "The amount of money you can get for research," says Columbia's Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "is practically infinite." Projectitis, the disease of obsessive group research, is growing. Economist Galbraith, who is a trustee of the Twentieth Century Fund, is "struck with how scarce good projects are," particularly since the fund gets so many requests from "people who want to be great entrepreneurs of research, sitting on top of a project pyramid. The failure rate," he reports, "is pretty high." An important side effect of projectitis, of course, is that teaching is downgraded and Berkeley fever begins to spread among students.

Name Game: Nonetheless, grantsmanship remains among the most popular of academic activities. Like speaking a foreign language, grant-seeking is easy and enjoyable for those who know how, but rather difficult for the uninitiated. A lot depends on whom you know.

A grant, says master fund-raiser Richard F. O'Brien, who lured $113 million to Stanford before taking over the University of Chicago's $160 million drive, often begins informally. "A faculty member has an idea, and when he's in New York he drops in at a foundation where there are people he knows. If they think the idea sounds good, the faculty member comes back and draws up a formal proposal." For a neophyte who thinks in modest terms, O'Brien stands ready to "help him shape the proposals, making sure, for example, he has anticipated all costs, reminding him that he can get aid for assistants and equipment."

"What it boils down to in the end," says David C. McClelland, professor of psychology at Harvard, "is that if someone on the inside has confidence in you, you get the grant. Once you get above a certain level of visibility, the opportunities are fantastic."

Though most major universities and colleges keep a constant check on foundation interests and such friendly contacts as alumni on boards of trustees, when a school embarks on a major hunt for capital, foundation-watching and wooing becomes a major administration preoccupation. At the University of Southern California, where a twenty-year master-plan drive for $106.7 million may be achieved this spring, only five

STOREFRONT LAW: ANATOMY OF A GRANT

Mrs. Aubrey Potts, 31, of New Haven, Conn., was having her troubles. Her rent was unpaid and her landlord ordered eviction when he suspected that one of her five children had set a fire in the apartment building. She lost her driver's license after an accident, and she wanted to divorce her husband, claiming desertion. On a nurse's aide's salary of $62 a week, Mrs. Potts could hardly afford the cost of a lawyer to straighten out the mess. But following a friend's advice, Mrs. Potts found one lawyer, who helped her recover her apartment and is trying to recover her license. Another is handling the divorce. This battery of legal talent has cost her nothing. In effect, the Ford Foundation paid the bills by way of a sizable grant to the Legal Assistance Association, Inc., (LAA) of New Haven, a group of lawyers who have established storefront law offices in poor neighborhoods.

The dollars that helped Mrs. Potts were part of a much larger effort to remedy a serious defect in the administration of U.S. justice. Though the poor are more apt to get arrested, they often have no adequate counsel; though they often suffer from the depredations of loan sharks, slumlords and finance companies, they have the least access to legal advice.

Step One: Few of the legal applications submitted to the Ford Foundation were concerned with this widespread and depressing situation when William Pincus joined the foundation's public-affairs program in 1957. Most grant proposals came from law schools, and the academic mind tended to look down on the problems of criminal law as being intellectually uninteresting. And the foundation itself, Pincus recalls, "had a tendency to take for granted that research and education were good. Rarely was the test from a social point of view—how to give more benefits to more people." So Pincus, a former government lawyer with the born reformer's drive to help the underdog, began a campaign to convince both the legal profession and the foundation of the need for change. In 1959, the first step toward a broader effort was taken with an $800,000 Ford grant to the National Legal Aid and Defender Association —an organization that encourages le-

Newsweek—Bernard Gotfryd

Legal Aid office in New Haven: Rebalancing justice

gal assistance to persons unable to afford a lawyer. Ford asked NLADA to set up clinics to interest law students in the problems of the poor.

Working closely with NLADA, Ford then developed the National Defender Project to provide more direct legal assistance. By constitutional right, defendants are entitled to representation in a criminal case; but in many states, the poor and the powerless were being denied their rights. Just three months after the Ford trustees approved the $2.3 million Defender Project appropriation, the Supreme Court extended this constitutional right to the states in the Gideon v. Wainwright decision.

The money allowed NLADA to devise several experiments to demonstrate what an adequate defense ought to be like; it also channeled money into existing legal programs. In New Haven, paid lawyers set up shop first in two community schools, later in storefront law offices. In Philadelphia, a "circuit-riding" lawyer visited jails and investigated prisoner complaints of unfair trials (15 per cent had a case valid enough for the lawyer to help them file writs of habeas corpus). In Boston, a team of lawyers and students represented the poor in misdemeanor cases, and in Houston a NLADA project may lead to a state law requiring every lawyer to take on some impoverished clients.

Full Defense: Many of these cities were given priority for the Defender Project money because they were part of Ford's "gray areas" program, another imaginative foundation venture with profound social implications (it later became the prototype for the Federal poverty war).

In New Haven, for example, Ford workers and city officials developed a comprehensive anti-poverty program which included neighborhood centers in the schools, job retraining, and one of the first big pre-school programs. This direct involvement in community action in turn led to the inclusion of LAA. Its lawyers provide help for defendants in criminal cases and also advise people coming to the offices on all kinds of legal problems and initiate civil suits when necessary. Pincus was able to get this started by combining the Defender and gray-areas funds. Showing the poor how to initiate their own suits stirs up opponents most. "This is swaying the balance between two litigants," complains a New Haven lawyer, also a landlord. "The cards are stacked against the man of average means.

Insurance: But those on the other side pass a considerably better judgment. "I don't know what I would have done without it," says Mrs. Potts. Most of the 625 persons helped during the last eight months of 1965 had never had legal advice before. Says Frederick Danforth, director of the project: "We want to teach people the usefulness of a lawyer."

Another mark of success is imitation. The Office of Economic Opportunity has already started similar projects in 23 cities and hopes to spend $20 million this year. Predictably, mossback elements in the legal profession have charged the OEO program is "fomenting social unrest" and leading to "socialization" of lawyers.

The Ford men are delighted to see the government financing what they started, and they are now thinking ahead to other innovations, such as a legal-insurance plan patterned after Blue Cross. Because of the recent Supreme Court decision and programs like Ford's, Pincus notes, "communities now have a new category to think about—justice."

years after its commencement, a blackboard in the office of vice president Thomas P. Nickell Jr. gives a daily bulletin on the school's progress in matching a $7.5 million Ford grant on a basis of $3 for every $1 of Ford's. "A Ford grant," says Nickell, "is viewed as an international stamp of approval."

The Shadow: But foundations are finding it is harder than ever to make a real difference. Money doesn't buy as much as it used to, and foundations are a relatively smaller source of money in the society than they used to be. "Foundations," predicts Cornell president James A. Perkins, "are not going to have the visibility they used to have. Ford is the only one left with enough money to go into an area and create a real change in institutions. But ten years from now even Ford won't be big enough to change institutions."

The Federal government casts the major shadow over the foundation's path, and staying ahead of Washington's public philanthropy, admits Ford vice president W. McNeil Lowry, "is a far more acute and difficult job in 1966 than ever before." Foundation ideas are being pirated before foundations have had a chance to work them out. Some of the cutting-edge thinking behind Ford's gray-areas program was quickly adopted by the War on Poverty. The government has moved in so quickly, in fact, that foundation officers often fly to Washington for briefings on what's new.

As politically daring as the Great Society appears to be, there still remain many areas where government fears to tread or lacks the necessary dexterity. And even though government may spend more, foundations can make a considerable case for not deserting their former pastures. "Counter-cyclical giving" is the foundation phrase for it, meaning that private money can be used to correct distortions or fill in the gaps of government programs. "I'm becoming a great believer in competition in the public interest," says Paul N. Ylvisaker, director of Ford's public-affairs program.

Appraiser: Another option for foundations is the job of public investigator and appraiser—both of what is happening with Washington's money and in other areas of society. The Rockefeller Brothers Fund demonstrated the possibilities of foundation appraisals in a series of six reports on public policy in 1958-60, and top Carnegie officials feel one of Carnegie's most important roles in the future may be in evaluations of government and other institutions.

Of the various outlets for foundation money and imagination, however, the problems of civil rights, and the poverty and disintegration in the cities may offer the greatest opportunities, even if most foundations have been slow in seizing them. The inability of the government

to assure civil rights by law and the still inconclusive battles being fought in the poverty war have left plenty of room for "risk capital" to maneuver, but foundations as a group have hesitated to act.

It is ironic that most foundations should have been so myopic about civil rights. The first substantial foundation in the United States, the Peabody Education Fund, spent much of its money on Negro education in the Reconstruction South, and Carnegie initiated and supported Gunnar Myrdal's study of the Negro in America which produced his epochal book, "An American Dilemma." But it took the Civil Rights Act to pry loose much money for Negro aid outside schools. In 1964 all foundations spent $2.3 million on race relations. The figure jumped to a still modest $27 million last year. An official of the Urban League, which has received some support, feels foundations "have just been piddling. They still retain the stereotypes. They ask, what does the Negro want?"

Small Voices: Getting out of the universities and into the streets involves real risk. "We don't need to do all that much more thinking," declares Harvard's McClelland, "we need some people acting. And we need some new types of institutions to allow us to bring the know-how we already have to bear on the actual problem." On the whole only small foundations have been willing to try. The Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation has used some of its small resources to aid SNCC workers, and the $43 million Field Foundation, in civil rights since 1944, last year aided a program of voter-registration education for Southern Negroes and supported a program to help communities adjust when Negroes move into white Chicago suburbs. Taconic and New World are two other small foundations with imaginative social-action programs. Unfortunately, these have been only small voices, usually speaking without major foundation assistance.

There are hopes that Ford, which has supported education and now the arts so lavishly, will soon accelerate its work on social problems. It has recently been active in planning projects for the Watts section of Los Angeles. And McGeorge Bundy is not a man with patience for overextended studies. He has said he appreciates "applied intelligence"—knowledge that reflects "a sense of political responsibility, with an awareness that action has consequences." He is likely to seek the same sort of consequential thought at Ford.

The foundation has already started to "think about what schools will be like in the 21st century," a project which involves thinking about what the cities of that time will be like. Says Bundy, "I don't think there's any shortage of problems and opportunities for foundations."